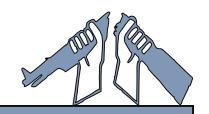
The Broken Rifle





Colombia is one of the countries with the longest history of armed conflict – by now more than 50 years. Decades of war and violence by the state's military forces, paramilitaries, and different guerilla forces lead to a militarisation of the entire Colombian socierty. After several failed peace processes, the "war on terror" and its Colombian counterparts, the "Plan Colombia" and "Plan Patriota" lead to an escalation of the armed conflict.

In this war, all parties to the conflict commit atrocities and human rights violations. In terms of practice on the battlefield, it is impossible to distinguish between any of the armed forces – be they government forces, paramilitaries, or guerillas.

Conscientious objection

But Colombias youth had had enough. Enough of war and violence. Enough of being round up on the streets by the military, and being recruited by force. Enough of running after the "libreta militar", the military card, without which they cannot graduate from university, get a driving license or passport – just live a normal life. The official statistics show that

a large proportion of youth does not follow the state's "call to arms" against the guerilla. However, while most do just not register for military service and live an insecure life without their military card, risking recruitment at every checkpoint or random raid of the military, an increasing number of youth is now prepared

to openly confront the state and declare their conscientious objection. Although conscientious objection is not recognised in Colombian law, the COs claim that their right is guaranteed under international standards, which – according to the Colombian constitution – are automatically part of Colombian law, on par with the fundamental rights guaranteed by this constitution, and ignored by the state.

The last years saw the coming together of CO groups from different regions of Colombia, and today 13 groups from all over the country are part of the National Assembly of Conscientious Objectors.

Protection and solidarity

Based on this new strength, the National Assembly of Conscientious Objectors started a process to create a national and international support network for conscientious objection in Colombia. International Conscientious Objectors' Day 2007 - 15 May is part of this process. But while this one-off international event in Medellin is important because of the visibility it provides to the movement for conscientious objection in Colombia, more important will be ongoing support. In cooperation with the National Assembly of Conscientious Objectors, War Resisters' International is presently setting up a database of COs in Colombia

(soon available at https://lists.wriirg.org/codb), and an international solidarity network. And 15th May will also see the public launch of the "Libreta objetor/a de conciencia" – WRI's conscientious objector card, which will be a visible symbol of conscientious objection as an internationally recognised human right.

In some way, the libreta objetor/a de conciencia is a form of "virtual accompaniment", similar to the physical accompaniment Peace Brigades International tries to provide to some threatened human rights activists in Colombia (and elsewhere). However, all this can only work with a strong solidarity network, that reacts quickly to attempts to recruit or arrest a conscientious objector. While the National Assembly of Conscientious Objectors and WRI will attempt to distribute information as quickly and widely as possible whenever a conscientious objector is in danger, this information needs to be acted upon as fast and widely, to have an impact on the Colombian authorities. Contact the WRI office now if you want to be part of this "protective shield" for objectors in Colombia.

Andreas Speck

War Resisters' International 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX Tel +44-20-7278 4040 info@wri-irg.org http://wri-irg.org/en

Editorial

International Conscientious Objectors' Day 2007 focuses on Colombia, a country with more than 50 years of (civil) war and violence. A country also, where conscientious objectors face challenges different from elsewhere – the threat of involuntary recruitment not only coming from the state military, but also from the various irregular forces and guerillas in the country.

country.
Colombia is also a challenge for the international movement for conscientious objection. In terms of international legal standards, the question is how these can be applied to non-state actors, so that they too recognise the right to conscientious objection. But then, the Colombian state also does not recognise CO, and not only might COs end up in prison on charges of disobedience or desertion, more likely even is that they suddenly find them-selves in military barracks, after being picked up at a checkpoint or a raid by the police. Legal or illegal – without us intervening, the Colombian state and the military won't care, at least not until it might be too late for the CO concerned.

International Conscientious Objectors' Day is about solidarity with COs and CO movements. There are only a few countries where this is as urgently needed than in Colombia, and we as war resisters need to stand up to the challenges posed by this specific situation. We know from experience that international solidarity can make a difference, and in the case of Colombia this is even more important, and requires our concerted efforts. And who, if not us?

More information is available on WRI's Colombia campaign page at http://wri-irg.org/co/colcampaign-en.htm.

Andreas Speck

The Broken Rifle

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War Resisters' International, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, Britain tel +44-20-7278 4040 fax +44-20-7278 0444 info@wri-irg.org http://wri-irg.org/pubs/br74-en.htm

Scribus Made

Gender and MilitarismWRI/New Profile seminar in Tel Aviv, Israel, 23–26 August 2007

Today it is becoming increasingly clear that consistent feminism cannot do without a thorough analysis of militarism and that consistent antimilitarism cannot do without a deep understanding of gender issues in both theory and practice

issues in both theory and practice.

The Gender and Militarism Seminar, to be held in Israel in August 2007 will bring together activists and academics from all over the world to study the mutual connections between militarism and gender. The seminar is organised by War Resisters' International together with the Israeli feminist antimilitarist movement New Profile. This project builds on a long history of work on issues of gender and militarism by both organisations, and continues and deepens the long-standing cooperation between them.

More information: http://wri-irg.org/news/2007/council2007-en.htm.



The Peace Community of San José de Apartadó

To celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Peace Community of San José de Apartadó delegates from other Colombian peace communities and visitors from 14 countries met in settlements La Unión and San Josesito de Apartadó (where the Community resettled after police installed themselves on the territory of the original community) in the municipality of Apartadó, Antioquia province.

While people keep demanding the whole truth and justice about the systematic violation of human rights in Colombia, the State continues to lose legitimacy, through its violence and corruption, and a parliament that legislates for the benefit of its members. As the first Peace Community completes 10 years of resistance, it counts 178 dead, more than 500 crimes of aggression denounced in 15 petitions presented to President Uribe. This tenth anniversary therefore had the character of a meeting place for various forms of solidarity walking a path of dignity and collective memory.

On 23 March, a silent march through the streets of Apartadó passed through the cemetery en route to the centre of San José de Apartadó. During the march, 178 symbolic coffins were left outside the office of public prosecutor to remind this institution of its repeated failure to carry out its constitutional function.

A growing number of communities and organisations, both inside and outside Colombia, are forming links of solidarity and brother/sisterhood with the Community, strengthening its projects for life and territory. Already many of them have been witnesses of the barbarity of the State against communit ies throughout Colombia and especially against the Peace Community of San José de Apartadó. So on 17 March an International Mission of Solidarity with Colombian Communites of Nonviolent Civil Resistance met in Bogotá before travelling on to take part in the tenth anniversary events and the meeting of communities in resistance in the Peace Community itself. International participants came from Austria, Belgium, England, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the USA. They agreed to work for the legitimatization and international recognition of the humanitarian zones created by this peace community as a mechanism of protection of the civil population in the midst of armed conflict.

www.cdpsanjose.org

Recruitment and Conscientious Objection

ObjectionFreedom of conscience and obligatory military service in the Political Constitution of Colombia

The legal framework over recognition of conscientious objection in Colombia remains the contradiction between Articles 18 and 216 in the 1991 Constitution. In the chapter on fundamental rights, article 18 guarantees freedom of conscience: "nobody will be obliged to act against their conscience". However, in the chapter on the public forces, article 216 states that "all Colombians are obliged to take up arms when there is a public need for this in order to defend national independence and the public institutions. The law will determine the conditions which at all times qualifies an individual for exemption from military service and the privileges for ser-

When cases about conscientious objection have been brought, the Constitutional Court, instead of searching for a halfway point between the two articles. has opted for putting the constitutional obligation to take up arms above the right to freedom of conscience. Its arguments are that collective interests take priority over individual, that CO to military service is not explicitly recognized in the Constitution, that the right to freedom of conscience does not extend to the concept of Conscientious Objection, and that military service is considered a form of citizen training. Nevertheless, recent legislation has recognised some other forms of conscientious objection - for instance by medical staff or by members of Congress who do not accept the decisions of their parties.

Among CO groups in Colombia there is an agreement not to demand new regulations recognising conscientious objection and implementing article 18. That path would lead to the Colombian state placing restrictions and conditions on objectors. Instead their argument is that international norms, set out in a series of international treaties or Conventions ratified by the Congress [1].

Obligatory military service and refusers

The structure of obligatory military service in Colombia is characterized by the huge number of youths called up, the high proportion exempted, and the relatively few who really do military service.

Since 2003, the tendency has been to increase the number called up, reduce the number exempted and so increase the number obliged to do military service, a worrying situation above all when you take into account that most of them come from low-income families who cannot afford to buy their way out of military service (paying for a military service card) or bribe officials.

As CO to military service is not recognised legally, we have to use the terms used by the military to assess the extent of refusal of conscription and forced recruitment in Colombia. The official data provide evidence of three categories of youths who have said no to cooperation with the system of recruitment and the conditions



Action against recruitment

of conscription. These three categories are: remisos (those who fail to report), deserters and desobedientes (those who disobey). The remisos are categoried as having breaking the law concerning recruitment, in theory being subject to fines but not detention. Desertion and disobedience, however, are considered as breaking the military penal code and are punishable with loss of freedom. In practice, remisos have been tried as soldiers for crimes of desertion [2].

The quantity of remisos has

Military card and conscientious objection

One alternative for refusers of obligatory military service is trying to fit one of the legal exemptions or postponements, so that they will qualify to pay the military a quota of "compensation" and receive a military card instead of being recruited.

Anybody who refuses to pay this quota of military compensation (because contributing financially to war is against their ethical or political convictions) is in a special situation. Legally they

80% 50% 40% 30% 20% 1995 1998 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 Percentage of remisos

Diagram. Percentage of remisos among persons obliged to do the military service: 1995-2003

been relatively high against the number of persons obligated to do the military service. The average percentage for the period of 1995 to 2003 has been around 26%. Although the general tendency has been downwards, there was a dramatic increase in 2003 to 48.5% of the total of persons obliged to do the military service.

As we can observe in table 1. the cases of desertion and disobedience in the army enormously outnumber those in the police. The annual average is that there are 230 cases of disobedience within the army, and 1847 deserters. Therefore we can confirm that there exists not only a numerous group of young people who have refused conscription for some reason and end up catalogued as remisos, but also a substantial presence of people who refuse to stay or to be obedient within the within the ranks of the State's military forces.

are no longer obliged to do military service. However, without the military card they won't have the opportunity to graduate from superior studies or to sign work contracts.

Furthermore, the government has been trying to change the law so that the military card is demanded on applying for a passport, registering at university or for a professional qualification, obtaining a driving licence, or taking a public or private post. In the meantime, although in a very incipient manner, some groups of conscientious objectors try to address this situation by creating cases and lawsuits claiming discrimination and violation of fundamental rights.

Recruitment by the Colombian State: irregular and illegal

Although the recruitment law lays down procedures to enlist recruits, in many cases the due process is not fulfilled and its supposed impartiality is riddled

Table 1. Disobedience and desertion in the military forces and the police: 1995–2003

Disobedience military	Disobedience police	Desertion military	Desertion police
Year	Year	Year	Year
2001–2003	1995–2003	2001–2003	1995–2003
690	118	5541	13
persons	persons	persons	persons

with arbitrariness and corruption.

Batidas (raids) are practices of forced recruitment carried out in public places, generally in poor neighbourhoods or rural zones. Those who do not have a military card are immediately seized, put in a truck and incorporated into the army. According to the recruitment law itself, this is illegal: nobody should be forced to join immediately, and the maximum allowed is to force people to register themselves to begin the whole process of recruitment (or otherwise resolving their situation).

Even the legal exemptions and postponements are not observed or respected by the army. Indigenous people, fathers, displaced people, people with physical disabilities, and college students, are taken into the ranks despite the existence of rules that exempt them or postpone their military service.

Recruitment of children by i llegal groups

The 2004 global report of the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers estimates that a quarter of soldiers in illegal armed groups in Colombia are younger than 18 years old. These children participate in combats, transport supplies, act as messengers and guards, and place explosives and mines. Some of them join to escape from poverty, unemployment or domestic abuse, while others search to avenge the death of a family member or friend. Most are denied contact with their family. The girls are coerced into sexual relationships with male commandants.

With the new law of childhood and adolescence, children of 15 years old involved in activities of i llegal armed groups, changed from being victims of the conflict to being punishable, which is in contradiction with the recommendations of the International Committee of the Children's Rights in its last report.

Notes:

[1] The right to conscientious objection is implicitly recognized in the article 18 of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, in the article 18 of the International Pact of Civil and Political Rights, approved by Colombia by the Law 74 of 1968, and by the article 12 of the American Convention about Human Rights, approved by Colombia by the Law 16 of 1972, rules that affirm the right to freedom of thought, of conscience and religion (MADRID MALO, 2006,3), and explicitly in the resolution 33/165 of 1978 the General Assembly of the UNO, the resolution of the Human Rights Commission of the 5th of March of 1987, and the resolution 2002/45. [2] The law 522 from 1999 defines disobedience as: Not carrying out or modifying a legitimate order by the officer in command according to legal formalities, carrying a punishment of between 1 and 3 years' imprisonment (Article 115). A deserter can be held from six months to two years. On completing this sentence, the accused will be required to complete his military service, including all the time he has been absent or in detention (Article 128).

Antecedents for conscientious objection in Colombia

In Colombia, conscientious objection first became a topic in 1988 when a group of people (academics, philosophers lawyers, intellectuals and church members) began to question obligatory military service.

In 1991, taking advantage of the change in constitution in Colombia, the Collective of Conscientious Objection and the program Objectors for Peace from the Mennonite Church, during the National Constitutional Assembly, mounted a campaign to have CO included in the debate. Public actions in that year included marches, press interviews, mobilizing schools and collecting 6000 signatures that were delivered to the National Constitutional Assembly. Thanks to this work, the theme was discussed and article 18 was included in the new constitution, guaranteeing freedom of conscience of the Colombian people (article 18).

At the same time, the Red Juvenil of Medellín was born, a community organization that affirms the rights of young people, such as conscientious objection, taking an approach based on nonviolence and civil disobedience.

In 1994 a significant event happened: on presenging his public declaration of conscientious objection, Luis Gabriel Caldas was taken to prison and then forced to live clandestinely until Amnesty International, having adopted him as a prisoner of conscience, exerted sufficient pressure to resolve his situation.

In the same year, Colombia participated in the first Latin-American Meeting of Conscientious Objectors in Paraguay, and was the venue of the 9th International Meeting of Conscientious Objectors, getting media attention.

In the year 2000, the group

Acción Colectiva por la Objeción de Conciencia en Colombia was created in Bogotá through the convergence of organisations interested in strengthening the work on conscientious objection

Between 2002 and 2004 the campaign called 'Juventudes desde la Noviolencia Activa Resistiendo a la Guerra' was promoted by various youth groups from different regions of Colombia. It was one of the first steps for the creation of a national network about conscientious objection that, in September 2005, was converted into the National Assembly of Conscientious Objectors

Since then, 4 national assemblies have taken places, plus a workshop about legal alternatives for conscientious objectors and, in July 2006 in Bogotá, an international meeting of solidarity for the conscientious objection in Colombia, with the

presence of various international delegates of movements of war resistance and conscientious objection. This raised where the idea of creating an international support network for the conscientious objection in Colombia.

As the Colombian context is very different from other countries and the conscientious objection has been developed in the middle of an armed conflict between the State, guerrilla and paramilitary groups, with multiple causes and factors that play a role, the right to object for conscience doesn't refer only to official military service, but also to any coerced service in any armed group involved in the conflict, to all the expressions of militarism in the daily life (like authoritarism), and to the systems such as the neoliberal economical model, that sustain militarism.

The National Assembly of **Conscientious Objectors**

The National Assembly of Conscientious Objectors ANOOC is a network of organizations and groups of different regions of Colombia who, with a nonviolent approach, promote conscientious objection against all - legal and illegal - armed groups.

One of the main concerns of the National Assembly has been the recruitment problem and the constant militarization of civil life by the different actors involved in Colombia's armed conflict. That's the reason why we decided on the following lines of action:

- Mutual strengthening of different groups of conscientious objection by exchanging experiences and spaces for training.

 National coordination of direct
- nonviolent action and public acts.
- Accompaniment and permanent communication between the different groups on conscientious
- Construction of a national and international solidarity network for conscientious objectors.

Presently, the National Assembly of Conscientious Objectors includes the following groups:

- Red Juvenil Paz Caribe
- Colectivo Objetarte Cali Red Juvenil Medellín
- Acción Colectiva de Objetores y Objetoras de Conciencia Bogota
- Movimiento Juvenil Artesanos
- Concejo Municipal de Juventudes Puerto Caicedo Putumayo
- Corporación Colombia Joven Villa Rica – Cauca
- Servicio Paz y Justicia Barranquilla Asociación Juvenil y Estudiantil Regional Aruaca
- 10. Movimiento de Objetores y Objetoras Quinto Mandamiento
- Barrancabermeja 11. Movimiento Juvenil Álvaro Úlce
- Kasimba Cali
- 13. FUNSAREP Cartagena

More information is available at: www.obiecioncolombia.org

Chronicle Of Objector Andres Daniel Giraldo and his liberation (2006)

Departing at 21:00 from Bogota on the bus fleet Rápico Ochoa bound for Medellin, the bus was held up at 12.45 a.m. by the National Armed Forces of the Municipality of Guaduas, Cundianamarca. We were held up on the motorway till 1.55 a.m. and later the army allowed us to rest at the Guadua Infantry Battalion, by which time it was 2:11 am, the very time one starts to imagine what may happen. There were 13 youths in the hangar where everyone was amusing themselves on their mobiles or joking around. I conveyed my position as Conscientious Objector to lieutenant Gómez.

Inspection at 5:20 a.m., lights on, off to wash our mouths and ready for line formation with Quintero and waiting to be taken to Facatativa. Breakfast of fried cornmeal cake with chocolate, and, indeed a day full of surprises that Lieutenant Gomez had in store, from a ball for footy, domino, ping pong rackets, decks of cards and continuous company, full of laughter and cold humour of military nature, with comments such as "conscientious objector, stay calm mate, you'll soon forget about all of that when you grab a rifle and watch the cartridges falling, now that's what I call exciting". Laughs from everyone and when they were imaging me without earrings and in camouflage they laugh more.

At 8:30 a.m. they took out their cones and gear for motorway control. returning at approximately 12:30 p.m., with 15 youngsters plus the battalion, we played a game of football, they told stories about the Army and how good it was, of new policies, of the treatment within the institution, and so on. Among the young men, there were 3 from La Paz, 2 from Huilences, 2 from Bogota, one indigenous reinserted in the forces, and there were 21 from different parts of the Atlantic Coast, namely Valledupar, Barranquilla, Santa Marta, Sincelejo).

At the time we had to climb onto the truck, there were 23, as the situation had been sorted itself out for 5 of them. The case of one of these was quite nice, that of Tiberio Osorio, a 22-year old young man from the Unión de Antioquia, having only completed 3 years at primary school, was very frightened, as it was the first time y had left his village, he had come from Bogota to work in a shop with his cousins. He would say "not sure if I will get used to it because in such big cities you are a nobody, at least in my village, people know you and if you're bored, then I get to work on my strawberries and potatoes and amuse myself, whereas in a big city, what do you do?" Anyone who saw his hands could recognise his trade, as Don Juan Matus' facts talk for themselves, which is what Tiberio Osorio reflected so the lieutenant let him

At 2:15p.m. a truck arrived to pick us up bound for Facativa. On the way, people were getting settled, telling jokes we speculated about everything, how we would look in uniform, we worked on declarations that would prove that we were not suitable to enter the military service, such as: I have flat feet; I suffer from asthma; that one had attacks; a broken hand; and so on, a thousand white lies in order to evade the military service, we did this also to kill time while on the road in the truck.

We arrived at Infantry Battalion number 38, Miguel Antonio Caro at 4:30 p.m., we got in line and the usual inspection of the pile of identity cards, which incidentally were not confiscated at the time we were detained. I'd like to clarify that I was never made to form with the others, from the first moment we arrived in Facativa, a sergeant called me over, he asked me where I was from and told me to stick by him. Frankly, he treated me very well, he had me accompany him the whole time as if I were his great friend, he would tell me stories and he would ask me things. The funny thing was that he seemed motivated by my stories about traditional Indigenous Medicines, that was the area he wanted to explore, on one of his rounds he presented me to his colleagues who immediately said: this young man must be suitable for the service. he's the right size - the sergeant's reply was amusing: no this young man cannot stay, because he consumes medicine.

When the Major arrived to question people on the reasons for not doing their military service, it was a good opportunity

for me to put across my declaration as Conscientious Objector, as I am certain that many young people have never hear anything of the sort, nor did they believe that it was possible, or better still, to be released, as I was without further examination, nor any other problems, the only thing he asked me was to present a signed and sealed written declaration

Four of us were released, all we had to do was to confirm the information in the district, which the others did as their payment receipt was in process, as for me, I had nothing to confirm, therefore, I was free to go.

I left the battalion at 5:50 p.m. accompanied by Sergeant Pena, who I asked if he could give me some document so that they would not detain me again on the way, bearing in mind also that I had already lost \$35.000 cost of the fare), but he said, don't worry mate, they won't stop you, but should they do so, take my mobile number and call me immediately.

I was surprised at the treatment I got, I thought that they may have received

some internal communication and that was why they were so amicable, but that was impossible due to how late it was in the day. One of the conclusions I arrived at was that I tried to talk to them a lot about the legal aspect of it, quoting many articles and laws, and also, I always sustained that I did not agree with military structure in general, regardless of where it came from and that weapons was not the way to reconstruct a community; they may have questioned this themselves and it may have given me a bit of character.

None of the youngsters wanted to do their military service, but they all gave excuses and none came forward when the Major asked who wanted to be in the National Columbian Army. That must have enraged him. The remaining 17 youngsters had to proceed to take medical exams and wait to receive a final

Andrés Daniel Giraldo

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Women conscientious objectors in Colombia

It was back in 1924 that there was the first instance of women objecting to compulsory military service. Union leader Carlota Rua, during the first Workers' Congress, opened the debate on the obligation of military service by arguing that young workers and peasants should not be taken from their land, where they contributed to the country with their work, to be forced into destroy it as part of the arm. This same initiative prompted another group of women to oppose the recruitment of their sons and husbands during the war against Peru, making their objection public and generating debate inside the country [1].

As the years have passed, women have continued to organise initiatives against the internal war, in search of peace and solutions to the armed conflict based on mediation. It is worth mentioning the efforts of the working table "Women and Armed Conflict", that brings together diverse organisations and individuals to investigate and question the multiple forms of violence that affect women, young women and girls in the context of the armed conflict

in Colombia – work highly relevant as gender violence was invisible, despite the harshness of violent acts against the female gender by the different armed actors [2].

Equally important is the work of the Alliance "Colombian Women's Initiatives for Peace", again bringing groups together on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (approved 31 October 2000) calling for participation of women's groups in negotiations and dialogue about armed conflict and for recognition of their contribution to processes of reconciliation and reducing the impact of armed conflict on women [3]. These organisations have carried out important work, intervening in political debate, as well as through social work and public

demonstrations. Although within the conscientious objection movement itself, the gender perspective is not so clear, since women are as much reflected as men in the principles of active nonviolent, antimilitarism in the full vision of the structural causes and atmosphere of war as well as in the advocacy of solutions and alternatives from diverse angles, women have an essential relevance within the movement. In our country, where only men are obliged to do military service, the position of women has gone far beyond solidarity with friends, partners or sons, to contribute work and initiatives in the construction of a Colombia that is learning to transform its conflicts without resort to violence, a Colombia more equitable and without the sharp social injustices that fuel all the country's problems. From this point of view, the work on conscientious objection has especially spread through the development of an alternative pedagogy, reaching out to children, youth and adults of all social and cultural traditions with its promotion of nonviolence. At the same time, it has extended its perspectives to address themes such as the injustice of excessive charges of public services, the importance of fair trade (trade that is just, conscious and in solidarity), and the creativity of direct action. In these areas of work, women have made

a vital contribution.

It is also relevant to note as well the state's system of conscription, groups rather outside the law – such as guerrillas and paramilitaries – recruit both coercively and voluntarily men and women under the banner of gender equality. This is why it has been so important to have women declare themselves as conscientious objectors, refusing to participate in any army or contribute in any way to the machisto, patriarchal and militarist culture that maintains the harsh violence Colombia suffers.

In this way, women within the CO movement in Colombia have made it possible to take up both the problem and the proposed alternatives to war from a broad perspective, understanding the complexity of the Colombian reality and the need to propose deep and structural alternatives. It is touching that we are the ones who have most power to call people to take part in public acts and that men, apart from feeling accompanied in their refusal of military service, recognise us as equally important within the movement, knowing that everybody needs to commit themselves sould, heart and hands in the transformation of everyday life and the policies that support war.

Andrea Ochoa Objetora de Conciencia, Bogotá, Colombia

Notes

[1] Giraldo, Jhon. "La Objeción de Conciencia en Colombia: una historia en movimiento" publicado en http://www.nodo50.org/moc-carabanchel/campa%F1as/objecion/15m04_colombia_agresion.htm
[2] Web page of Mesa de Mujer y Conflicto Armado en Colombia http://www.mujeryconflictoarmado.org/lamesa.html

[3] Web page of Iniciativa Mujeres por la Paz:

http://www.mujeresporlapaz.org/

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